311 Note that the average farm in Fukien is only 10.21 shih-mou (1.7 acres), the smallest in this region; while that in Anhwei is 17.82 shih-mou (about 3 acres), the largest.

II. THE LAND-REFORM PROGRAM OF EAST CHINA

423 185 In February 1950, the provincial authorities of East China began preparations for the introduction of "Land Reform." In July 1950 work began on propaganda, the mobilization of the masses, the training of cadres, and the carrying out of exper ements in selected districts. In September 1950 and again in November, conferences were held to examine the result accomplished in the experimental areas.[3]

Since the middle of December 1950, the work of land reform had been developed extensively in the "new liberated areas," and the finishing touches had been put on the "old liberated areas." In April 1951, because of intensification of the "spring cultivation campaign," the Land Reform Movement was suspended for a time. After the summer harvest, the holiday period of the peasants was utilized for the resumption of the "reform" campaign. By the end of September 1951, in both new and old "liberated areas,"

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3. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily] Shanghai, November 29, 1951.

423 comprising in all 37,865 hsiang villages, the
185 redistribution of land was carried out.[4] In 17,903 of these hsiang, according to the official report, new title deeds were issued by November 1951. In the remaining areas comprising 5,403 villages, land redistribution was carried out during the winter of 1951 and the spring of 1952.[5]

As a result of land reform in East China, membership in peasant associations throughout the region increased from a little over 10,000,000 before the "reform" to 33,900,000 members, including 2,900,000 members of the "people's militia" and 15,000,000 members of the Women's Federation.[6]

During the Land Reform Movement in Fukien, some degree of preferential treatment seemed to have been given to families which had members overseas. According to a report, "During the 'Land Reform' Movement, the Fukien People's Government carried out faithfully the policy relating to the disposal of land and other property belonging to Chinese overseas. As a result, land and other values, such as production materials, had been distributed to the majority of overseas Chinese families, so that their difficulties were solved and they were enabled to participate in active production. Rich peasants, industrialists, and merchants, and also 'landlords' among the overseas Chinese, had their interests taken care of, and all were satisfied."[7]

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4. Liu Jui-lung "Hua-tung Ch'ü T'u-kai Pao-kao" ["Report on Agrarian Reform of East China"] Shanghai, [Liberation Daily,] Nov. 29, 1951.

5. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1953, p. 149.

6. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, Nov. 29, 1951. [7 see next page.]

423 185 Of the total 196 farm families in Hsieh-t'ang Ts'un of Fu-ch'ing Hsien, 70 households, or 35 per cent, were overseas Chinese families. The latter's population was 376, or 45.3 per cent of the total population 830. A comparison of their landholding after re-distribution with that held previous to Land Reform is shown in Table 2.

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7. Ta-kung Pao Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, December 29, 1951.

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Table 2. Land Holdings of Overseas Chinese Families Before and After "Land Reform" in Hsieh-t'ang Ts'un, Fukien */

Unit: S shih-mou
A = Acres

Peasants	No. of Farm Households	Farm Population	Total Land Holdings Before "Land Reform"	Total Land Holdings After "Land Reform"	Percentage of Increase in Land Holdings after "Land Reform"
"Farm Laborers"	5	17	1.4 S (0.23A)	20.6 S (3.43A)	1,371
"Poor Peasants"	11	83	40.5 S (6.75A)	97.2 S (16.20A)	115
"Middle Peasants"	49	255	217.4 S (36.23A)	308.2 S (51.37A)	42
"Rich Peasants"	5	21	21.75 S (3.62A)	21.7 S (3.62 A)	no change
Total	70	376	281.1 S (46.83A)	447.7 S (74.62A)	

*/ Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, December 29, 1951.

423 185 According to the above table, five of the overseas Chinese farm households belonging to the hired-hand class were given a total of 20.6 shih-mou owned before land reform, representing a thirteenfold increase. The eleven "poor peasants" and forty-nine "middle peasants" households increased their land holdings by 115 and 42 per cent respectively as a result of land reform. Even the remaining five overseas Chinese households belonging to the "rich peasants" class were allowed to retain their original lands without requisition. It showed clearly that over 94.4 per cent of the overseas Chinese rural population in the village were benefited by land reform directly, while the remaining 6 per cent were given special consideration to retain all their lands. Similar conditions were reported in other areas of the provinces with large communities of overseas Chinese.[8]

But the methods applied in other rural areas of the region without overseas Chinese elements were totally different. In most cases, violence and mob hysteria were engendered at the mass "accusation" and "anti-despot" meetings and trials. It was reported that thousands of landlords were killed or sentenced to prison terms. Others were detained to be "reformed through labor" over a period of five years. It has been estimated that in East China the Communist confiscated 1.6 million farm buildings, about 159.9 million shih-mou (26.65 million acres) of land, 3.2 million heads of draft-animals, 319.8 million shih tan (17.59 million tons) of grain, 15.99 million pieces of farm tools, and 1.6 million

8. Ibid.

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farm buildings and sheds. [9]

Land reform in East China was practically completed in the beginning of 1952. Its progress is shown below:

Table 3. Progress of Land Reform by Rural Population. */

Period	Rural Population
Before Spring 1950	45,000,000
Spring 1950-Summer 1951	60,000,000
Summer 1951-Spring 1952	17,500,000
Total	122,500,000

*/ People's Handbook, published by Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, 1953.

After land reform, 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population in East China were benefited, especially the "farm laborers" and "poor peasants" who were given an average of 1.5 to 2 shih-mou of land each. In some cases, the individual portion exceeded 3 shih-mou (1/2 acre) each; and even in more densely populated areas the per capita share dropped to 1 shih-mou (1/6 acre). [10]

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9. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, April 23, 1950; People's Daily, Peking, July 7, 1952; Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, No. 10, p. 12.

10. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, Dec. 29, 1951.

243 of farmland in the Hwai-yin region southwest of
73/ Lo-ma Lake. In 1951 and 1952, good harvests were reported throughout the basin of the two rivers, and not a single mou of land was flooded. The agricultural production of northern Kiangsu region[37] was 20 per cent higher in 1952 than in 1951.

X. CONCLUSION

• 423 One of the most striking features of East China's land reform was the promulgation of a series of orders extending favorable treatment to families of overseas Chinese residing in the rural districts of Fukien Province. The Communists hoped to stimulate the investment of remittances from foreign countries in agricultural and industrial enterprises in China. The inequality of treatment for peasants of the same district tends to arouse a great deal of discontent among the peasants in the East China Region, especially those in Fukien Province, who have no relatives overseas.

After land distribution, the basic problem in the Chinese rural communities still remains as before -- too many people and too little land. Mao Tse-tung admitted in July 1955 that the average per capita land-holding is still very small, only about 3 shih-mou (1/2 acre) per capita for the country as a whole. In some areas of East and Central-South China it is as little as 1 shih-mou (1/6 acre). Mao hopes to organize these scattered small farmers into units for semi-collective farming called agricultural producers'

37. Ibid., p. 24.

423 co-operatives.[38] But this new form of farm organization, which is directly opposed to the Chinese traditional practice, cannot be enforced too rapidly. After land reform, one pressure after another has been exerted by the Communist cadres upon the peasants (the fixing of production quotas, the collection of grain taxes, the compulsory purchase of grains, and participation in the agricultural producers' co-operatives), and many helpless peasants ran away in the hope of finding fewer restrictions in the cities.

166 According to Communist reports,[39] the population of Shanghai increased from 5,000,000 in January 1950 to over 7,000,000 by the end of April 1955. According to an investigation conducted by the Shanghai People's Municipal Government, about 50 per cent of the net increase of 2,000,000 population can be accounted for by exodus of peasants from rural areas.[40] The Back-to-the-Villages Campaign initiated by the municipal government in April 1955, is a clear indication of the seriousness of the problem. It is still doubtful if the problem can be solved by forcing the peasants to return to their villages if the conditions in the rural areas have not been improved.

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38. Mao Tse-tung, Kuan-yü Chung-kuo Nung-yeh Ho-tso-hua Wen-ti [Agricultural Co-operativization of China], Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, Oct. 27-31, 1955.

39. Hsin-wen Jih-pao [Hsin-wen Daily News], Shanghai, August 10, 1955.

40. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, July 31, 1955.